1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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342
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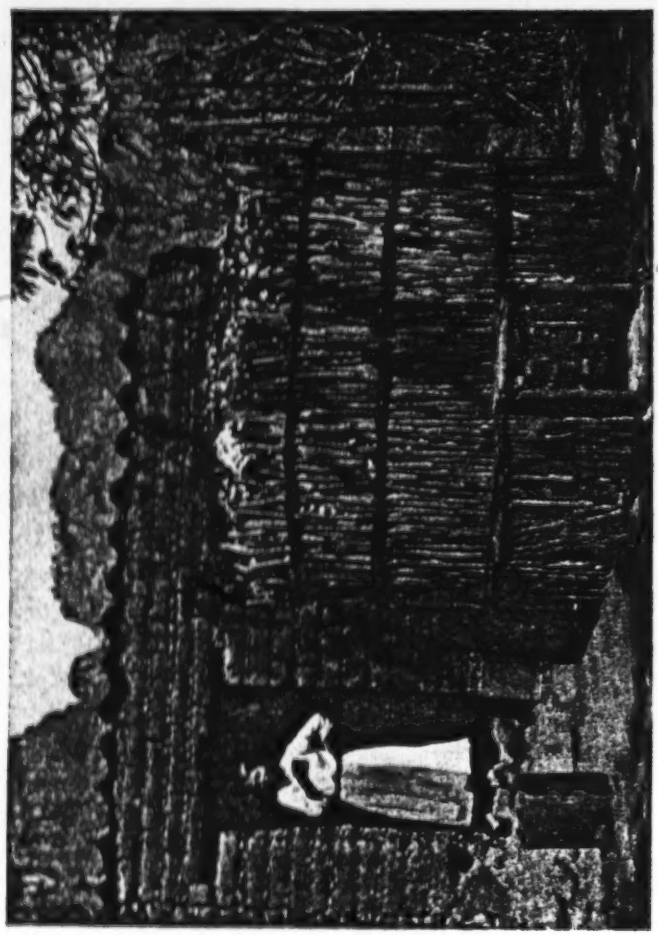
415



OHUATLAPIL: HUACALES AND *BOTES* IN THE FOREGROUND

[facing page 33]

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the house. The roof of this porch is supported by columns; there may be an arch or two. The roof may be peaked. The porch (*corredor*), and perhaps also the house, has a brick floor. There are several windows; some of these contain iron grilles. The walls are plastered and perhaps tinted.

However mean or however important, the house is ornamented by a number of flowering plants, usually potted in oilcans, and stood outside the house on a rack.

The tripartite house division into *sala*, kitchen and storehouse, emphasized by Bandelier[1] and well illustrated by Starr,[2] is not always clearly marked. Sometimes the kitchen is merely a flimsy lean-to against the house, or is in a corner of the *corredor*, or is even in a corner of the single room. But more often it is a separate room or even an entirely separate structure.

The storehouse (S. *troje*)[3] is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohili*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] Frederick Starr, *Indians of Southern Mexico, An Ethnographic Album* (Chicago, 1899), Plates XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

[3] "S." indicates term used in Spanish discourse; "N.," term used in Nahuatl discourse.

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another at right angles to the first until a structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.

Perhaps every fourth dwelling has a sweathouse (S. *temazcal*; N. *temazcalli*), well known as a part of the pre-Columbian house group. This is made of stone set in mortar. It is rectangular, approximately square, and about five feet high at the center. The roof is low peaked. The one entrance is barely large enough to permit entrance of a man on hands and knees. Although occasionally now used merely to achieve cleanliness, its use, as in pre-Columbian times, is chiefly therapeutic.

These are all indigenous features. Although bees and turkeys were domesticated before the Conquest, it is not clear to what extent the beehive—a simple wooden box—and the fowlhouse preserve pre-Columbian elements. The fowlhouse (S. *gallinero*; N. *pizcalli*) is a part of nearly every domestic establishment (but in many homes some of the chickens perch on ladders in a corner of the dwelling). It is usually built of stone, to keep out marauding carnivores, and has about the size and form of the sweathouse, except that the roof is tiled. To protect a horse or *burro* a thatched or tiled roof is erected in a corner of the yard. Something in which to store water completes the house group. This is either a plastered tank (S. *pila*) or a large jar (S. *tianja*; N. *acomitl*) or merely an alcohol tin.

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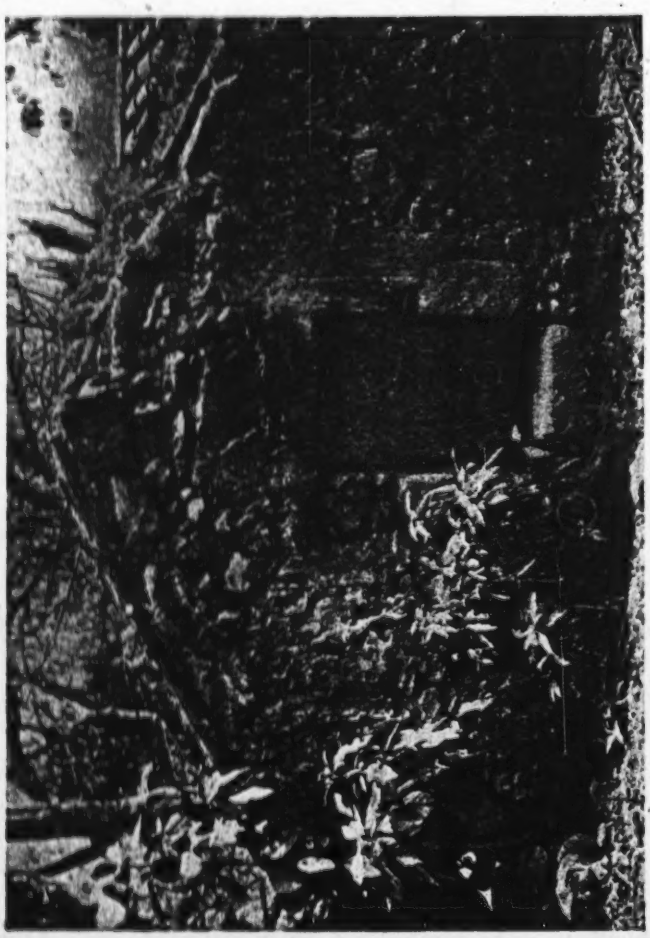

TEMAZCAL

[facing page 137]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Fig. 38. The *cuexcomatl* for storing corn.

magical qualities associated with the boa constrictor, for it was believed that a man who had tamed one would always have a good yield in his milpa, and that the seed would not be subject to insects.

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YIELD

The yield of corn varies a great deal from field to field and from year to year on the same field. Table 30 shows something of this range for specific fields of varying size.

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TABLE 30. Estimates of Corn Yields in Plow Culture, 1944.

Size of Milpa (Amount of Seed Planted in *Cuartillos*)	Yield in Ears of Corn by *Carga*	Yield in Shelled Corn by *Carga*
14.0	30.0	20.0
22.0	34.0	23.0
8.0	15.0	10.0
6.0	7.5	5.0
7.5	13.5	9.0
10.0	7.5	5.0
12.0	9.0	6.0

Judging from these figures, we would get an average production of 9.6 *cargas* of shelled corn a hectare. However, it is possible to arrive at a much more useful

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuexcomate* (N. *cuexcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[4]

The *cuexcomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[4] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33-34.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

back of her husband. Although this is still done by many, the woman is now often carried on a board by two men. Some men find it embarrassing to carry their wives and hire someone to do it for them. Some of the younger women walk to the *temascal*. The new baby is also taken to the *temascal* with the mother and is briefly exposed to the steam, then carefully wrapped and taken home. Many modern women disapprove of giving infants and small children sweatbaths and believe that they cause navel hemorrhages and even death. A bunch of *zapote* leaves are

Fig. 53. A sweathouse.

placed between the mother's thighs to cover the genitals. Throughout the bath, the midwife is assisted by a female relative of the mother. The midwife rubs the mother's body with egg and alcohol, particularly on the face and back, for this mixture is thought to prevent *paño*.

The mother then lies down on the leaves, and spoonfuls of water are thrown into the fire to make it steam. The midwife rubs the mother with the brush of leaves. After this she asks for the *estropajo*, which is a brush of *ixtle* in the form of a basket, containing a piece of soap. This basket may be made in the shape of an animal and is presented by the baby's godmother. Some women do not like to be washed with the *estropajo* because it is too harsh for their skins, and they use something else. The midwife washes the mother's entire body except for the genitals, which the mother washes herself. Warm water is thrown over her to wash off the soap, and she is dried. She is rebound and wrapped in a sheet and carried back to bed. When she leaves, the other women of the house, friends, and neighbors may take advantage of the hot *temascal* to bathe. These baths are taken by the mother every eight days for as long as she stays in bed. Almost everyone takes at least two *temascales*, and many take the traditional four. After the first *temascal*